7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Origin of Minimal Lineages. A word concerning the origin of the minimal lineages is in order (see Table 8 and Fig. 5, both of which are abstractions from village genealogies, showing males only, which were in the possession of the priest). The minimal lineages are clearly segmentations of the maximal lineages, but beyond this we cannot, unfortunately, make any very conclusive statements. 615

The writer asked several informants, on many occasions and in many different ways, why certain ancestors were the eponymous founders of the minimal lineages. Were they, for example, famous men? No one was sure, even in regard to his own lineage. The only suggestion was that perhaps when the families grew too large, they divided. It was also repeatedly stated that it has only been during the last fifty years or so that lineage names have been used at all, because the government began to insist that everyone have a "family" name. "So they all returned to their grandfathers." (The term "grandfather" was used loosely in the village, and Mansur Jurjis al-Khazari was often referred to as "our grandfather.") No one could say why they "returned to" a particular "grandfather" and not to another one. Thus, for some time the writer thought that perhaps the minimal lineages were recent arbitrary creations for the sake of providing names. It is possible, but it seems unlikely. Minimal Lineage III, for example, with its *wagf* trust, is an ancient institution, and there is no reason to suppose that it is exceptional in this respect.

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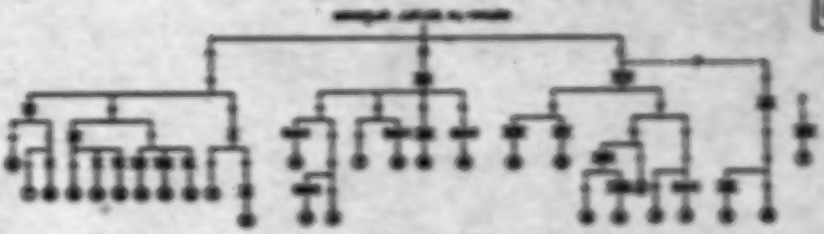

A, B, C = Eponymous Ancestors of Maximal Lineages
I–XXI = Eponymous Ancestors of Minimal Lineages
(Dec) = Eponymous Ancestors of Deceased Lineages
Numbers in O = Number of Generations Descended from the Last Specifically Indicated Individual in Each Patriline

FIG. 5. GENEALOGY OF LINEAGES

Table 8 indicates that the patrilines of the village were not very large or proliferated at the time when most of the eponymous ancestors were actually alive, and hence the formation of the minimal lineages may have been an arbitrary procedure on the part of the descendants of certain men, though not nearly as recently as some informants seemed to suggest. Size of groups or enmities between them might have been deciding factors. The present sizes of the lineages, since there is such a wide range of size, offer no clue. Lineage VIII, which might have been expected to divide long ago on account of its size has not done so, and there are

615 no indication that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in XI and XII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, name. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 6 and Figure 3 show that the lineages are of very unequal genealogical depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 3. The mode is six generations; the average is nearer seven than six.

It will be observed that the synonymous succession of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Mosque Jaqfa al-Ghazal in Table 6, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 3. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are no the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the synonymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The maximal lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all idiosyncratic, being Abi Yunis, Abi 'Awwad, and Abi Nag, respectively. Their sons were Yunis, 'Awwad, and Nag, respectively. 'Awwad and Nag are represented as XII and XVI, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 3 places the synonymous ancestors of these lineages in the earlier of the alternative generations to emphasize the following fact: The names of Maximal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Maximal Lineage A, the largest, has been eliminated. This fact was complained by the villagers, but they could not see any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 3 suggests that there are three patterns of derivation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sons of brothers; (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we could either accept the genealogy on which Table 6 and Figure 3 were based at its face value, or not give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of explaining history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Dagbaoui (1951, pp. 178–79) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

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The generic term for lineage which is used in Mosqui is 'ayl (properly

(Ar.). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is being identified, the word *hay* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general usage (*ref*), in Menqil as among other dwelling Muslims of Syria (Dagistanian, 1950, p. 147), serves equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and for kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention.

THE FAMILY UNIT

It is the firm impression of the present writer that in Menqil it is the nuclear, or conjugal, family which is far more important than the extended family. This is quite at variance with the conclusions of other writers on the Middle East in general. For example, both Tannous (1946, p. 107) and Woodsome (1946, pp. 216-17) declare emphatically that the nuclear family is of little consequence compared to the extended family as a social unit. The single example of Menqil, assuming that the interpretation given below is correct, cannot be used to refute the conclusions of recognized authorities. The present writer may have misinterpreted what he observed, but he hopes that the division of opinion may be based, in fact, upon varying practices in the Middle East as a whole. For example, Lichtenstadter has recently reported (1950, pp. 383-401) a specific case of the extended family among sedentarized Egyptian Muslim villagers.

Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the Case Group consists of eighty-seven households, each an independent residence unit. The alternative figure, eighty-nine, indicates the fact that in winter, two of the households are each split into two independent households. In summer, these pairs—they are brothers—and their families live together in the village; in winter they live separately in Beirut. These are two or four residences units depending on the season.

Of this total of independent households only two constitute true extended families. In one case there live under one roof the head and his wife, their only son (a commoner), and his wife and children. In the other, there is the head, his mother, his wife, an unmarried son, two unmarried daughters, and a married son with his wife and children. Table 1 shows that all the rest are essentially nuclear families, though some are defective, and many include some additional dependents.

Before he was aware of the existence of these two extended families in the village, the writer inquired of an informant whether extended families existed or ever had existed in Menqil. For this purpose a hypothetical extended family was described. The informant replied that he had heard that the Muslims sometimes had such families, but that they did not have them in Menqil, and that he had never heard that they ever had had them. "It would be impossible," he said. "You see, sometimes it happens that a woman and her son's wife must live together in the same house for a while. When they do, they are always sometimes because each one wants to run the house her own way, and they never agree. About the female-female trouble we have many sayings. And it is the same with the wives of brothers

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The Arabic kinship terminology, which appears to be basically the same wherever Arabic is spoken, allows for the very precise designation of a large number of close relatives. Morgan included it in his "descriptive" category of kinship systems, and it is certainly a better example than many of those he put into this new obsolete theoretical category. In more modern terms, it is bilateral collateral in type: each parent is distinguished from his siblings, mother's siblings are distinguished from father's siblings, "aunts" are distinguished from "uncles." These distinctions are continued into the children's generation simply by prefixing *ibn* (son of) or *bint* (daughter of) to the appropriate term. Thus, eight different first cousin statuses (8) linguistically defined: male and female patrilateral and matrilateral cross and parallel cousins. With these few distinctions in mind, it is rather surprising, perhaps, to discover that there is only one term for "grandfather" and "grandmother," respectively.

Turning to the affinal system, it has long been a point of interest that in Arabic, "*ego*" calls his or her father-in-law 'amm. The basic meaning of 'amm is "father's brother." However, in Mandil, and probably elsewhere, 'amm is used for "father-in-law" exclusively only. There is a special relational term, *hamu*, for "father-in-law," whose feminine form, *hamu*, means "mother-in-law." So much for general characteristics, whereas, actually, lies the substance of controversial theoretical interpretations.

Everyone is agreed that kinship terms are linguistic symbols of kinship statuses. Different kinship statuses, and the many different interaction patterns between them, call for various types of behavior and attitude on the part of any one individual. This much agreed, the longstanding anthropological controversy over the functional significance of kinship systems seems to revolve around this question: Must there be a one-to-one correspondence between the patterns of "lumping" and of differentiation of certain relatives in any one kinship system, and the prevailing behavioral and attitudinal patterns concerning relatives in the culture which uses that system? One side of the controversy tends to insist on "yes" as the answer to this question. The proponents of this view have produced many brilliant analyses of kinship systems, but they always encounter some difficulty in explaining a few usages whose functional significance is elusive. The other side of the controversy in effect seeks to solve this difficulty by answering the basic question with "Not necessarily always." The reason for this view has been expressed as follows: "In modern parlance, kinship terminologies are pattern systems of semantic logic, highly variable in detail and historically derivable, but also classifiable." As such they cannot be "construed as mere reflections or indices of marriage or other social institutions." (Kroeber, 1950, p. 172. Emphasis mine.) In this connection, we are reminded of Sapir's remark that "all grammars leak," and if the present writer's understanding is correct, Kroeber's opinion is that kinship terminologies are grammars of kinship behavior. If we put Sapir and Kroeber together, we have a linguistic "explanation" of what seem, from the sociological, "functional," point

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of view, to be difficult inconsistencies. In the discussion which follows, both the "linguistic" and the "functional" approaches (these particular terms are used merely for the sake of convenience in identification) will be used.

Let us look first at certain aspects of the kinship terminology which do not appear to correlate very closely with kinship behavior. Eggan, for whom such this [illegible] the most sophisticated exponent, says that the burden of proof is now on Kroeber's theory of linguistic priority rather than on the civil "sociological" approach (Eggan, 1950, p. 295). These Arabic data might give heart to Kroeber and pause to Eggan.

First, the distinctions between all the various types of first cousin, which are carried to the ultimate in precision, are mostly "unnecessary" from the functional point of view. In Mamdi, only patrilateral parallel cousins appear to be set apart in any way from the other first cousins of ego. This is because they alone are necessarily members of ego's lineage, with all the behavioral implications which this status carries. But even this distinction does not appear to intrude very much into everyday relationships. In the latter, ego seems to regard all his first cousins as people to whom he is bound equally closely by blood and affection. (This is a rather important matter, discussion of which cannot be completed until we come to the subject of marriage regulations.) Why, then, has not some "blanket" term been adopted for all first cousins? The answer is that to introduce such a change would do violence to the kinship system as a "system of semantic logic." All things considered, the most likely procedure would be to extend the term *ibn* (or *bint*) 'amm (father's brother's son or daughter) to all first cousins, thus eliminating the (or *bint*) 'ammah (father's sister's son or daughter), *ibn* (or *bint*) *khal* (mother's brother's son or daughter), and *ibn* (or *bint*) *khalah* (mother's sister's son or daughter). This would result, for example, in the son of a *khal* being called *ibn* 'amm, and this would seem so grotesque and absurd that either the whole idea would be rejected or the term *khal* itself would be replaced by 'amm. This last would be very unlikely. To Arabs *khal* is "mother's brother" and 'amm is "father's brother." They are two different statuses, conveniently distinguished and impossible to equate. Besides, there are behavioral distinctions. Ego's 'amm is automatically expected to render his nephew assistance. His *khal* is not.

Most of these difficulties could be avoided, of course, by the adoption of a foreign term such as the English or French "cousin." But this seems unlikely because the Arabs could not be expected to replace an element of their own beloved language with a foreign word, especially in such an alien fashion as in this.

During many conversations in English, informants made frequent use of the term "cousin," and it soon became obvious that as often as not they were referring to cousins more distant than first cousins. Upon investigation, it was learned that in Arabic *ibn* (or *bint*) 'amm is regularly used in such cases, even when the relative in question is related to ego through his mother, although a matrilateral kinsman ("wild cousin"?) more distant than first cousin is often not felt

to be very much of a relative. This is, of course, a classificatory device employed largely for the sake of convenience. It is possible to designate exactly a patrilineal second cousin, for example, in English by something like "my father's father's brother's son's son." In Arabic it is exactly the same, in several ways: ibn ibn ibnay-ahi-hayi. Obviously such awkward designations are to be avoided if possible, and usually they are unnecessary. If pressed in such a case as the example given [illegible] he is not my father's brother's son (ibn ibnay-hayi). He is my ibn 'amm, but there are six lines (ahd ashhur) between us."

"Ibn" counting is a short-hand device for reckoning the degree of relationship between two people. Between first cousins, for example, there are four lines, ego (1), ego's father (2), ego's father's brother (3), and ego's father's brother's son (4). The principle of the thing is to count up and down two lines of direct descent, crossing from one to the other at the point of closest consanguinal kinship. This is a sliding relationship, rather than a common ancestor.

In any case, we now see that the 'amm can be an ambiguous term. It happens, however, that there is a method for insuring that when one says ibn 'amm, one means first cousin only, and this is by adding the word banin to the term. Hilma Granqvist (1931, p. 80) mentioned exactly the same usage among Palestinian Muslim villagers. The word banin is derived from the root b.n which denotes complexion, and Granqvist says that its use in this context is a reference to the preferential parallel cousin marriage of the Muslims.

This brings us to other suggestions of this marriage pattern in the kinship terminology used in Muscat. It is possible that the single pair of terms for both sets of grandparents is a reflection of a Patrilineal parallel cousin, of course, have one set of grandparents, their fathers' parents, in common. In a strongly patrilineal organization, these relatives are far more important than mother's parents, and it may be that one set of grandparents tends to sufficient simply because reference to and interaction with grandparents is almost always with fathers' parents only. This, however, is speculation, and the argument is admittedly tenuous.

[illegible] Much more striking is the use of 'amm in relation to the father-in-law. Davies (1949, pp. 249-50) seems to accept this without question as an indication of patrilineal parallel cousin marriage. For the Muslims, among whom this type of marriage is still preferred and very often practiced, this interpretation seems clearly to be correct, for in such a case, the father-in-law of one spouse is necessarily also his or her father's brother. Now, however, consider the Muscati who says 'amm to his father-in-law, yet whose Church Arabic, ordinarily, the marriage of all first cousins, and whose forebears have been speaking Arabic for at least a thousand years. Davies reports his Palestinian Christian informant as saying that Palestinian Christians tend to regard their parallel cousins as potential spouses, at least. The present writer finds it difficult to believe that this is true, as a general rule in any case. Certainly there was no indication of it in Muscat.

If we think in terms of kinship and marriage behavior only, the use of 'ammo for father-in-law and of *hamu* to specify first cousin appears to be nothing less than the "nothing" of kinship gestures or the result of some sort of linguistic inertia. It is not necessary to leave the matter at this, however, in the case of 'ammo.

Among consulting father-in-law may have originated as an extension from "father's brother," but the continued use in Christian Arab culture is, in this writer's opinion, due to the fact that 'ammo has an extra-kinship use. It is the mode and tone of address used by a younger person to a man of his or her parents' generation, even if they are not relatives at all. Very frequently, in this use, the term is prefixed to the addressee's name. The usage is obviously not due to relatives assuming these of kinship, nor is it a means of establishing fictional kinship. It is an honorific. Dorothy Seligman (1935, p. 57) reports this use of 'ammo among the Sabaean Kalabish, and she says that it is universal among Arabic speakers.

Jidd (my grandfather) is sometimes addressed to a man so much older than the speaker that he seems like a grandfather, but the occurrence of this is not very common. ('ammah, "father's sister", and *ab*, "grandmother," are used analogously with women.)

Concerning this usage, a young adult informant pointed out that unless used as a idiomatic form of address, 'ammo is the only way in which an older villager can properly be addressed. To use his name only, or to a contemporary, would be disrespectful. On the other hand, he said, it would be inconceivable to use such titles as *sayyid* (Mr.), *sit* (Mrs.), *ustaz* or *fundiyah* (*sir*) to a fellow villager of whatever age. These terms are used by the Arabs in cities and among strangers. They connote the formality of strangeness and distance equally as much as, if not more than, respect.

It is not uncommon in modern America to encounter "uncle," with the individual's first name, used by younger people for very close friends of the family, to whom the use of the first name alone would be unseemly because of great difference in age, but with whom "Mr." would be too formal. To a limited extent, the Arabic and American usages are analogous, but of course the extension of *'ammo* in the former to include nearly every older person in the community is peculiarly Arabic. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that this particular usage in itself indicates a general conception of the entire village as a sort of kinship unit, but nevertheless it is important to note the use of a kinship term in definite preference to a formal title among the villagers.

We may now consider three kinship terms whose functional significance is clear and, in one case, rather important. All three are affinal terms.

The first is *ziyar*. This term is used by women only, and it is a reciprocal term. Two (or more) women are *ziyar* to each other when they are married to brothers. In addition, each *ziyar* refers to the other's husband as *ziff* (the connective form of the word). This term seems to serve the function of giving emoti-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

601 tion to the special connection which is created between two women when they marry into the same family.

601 591 Somewhat similar in function is the reciprocal term *'adil* which is used only by men, two or more men who are married to sisters. There is, however, no term *'adilat*, which might be applied to the wives of *'adil*, as *silf* is applied to the husbands of *silfat*. This difference is a significant one. Whereas two *silfat* become members of the same family by their marriage to brothers, two *'adil* do not become members of the same family by marriage to sisters. Rather, these sisters become members of their husbands' families, respectively. (Village phraseology aptly covers these conceptions: a man *takes* his wife *from* her family which *gives* her to him, and, up to a point, to his family.) Nevertheless, as has been pointed out before, the marriage of a woman does not entirely dissolve the bonds which have tied her to her parents, brothers and sisters. It seems to create for her an ambivalent, or double, set of bonds. And so, two men who marry sisters *do* establish between them a sort of vicarious bond, through the close connection between their wives. This bond is symbolized by the reciprocal term *'adil*.

Concerning the uses of *silfat* and *'adil* Davies writes, "Marriages such as these create bonds between otherwise unrelated persons and usage of these reciprocal terms usually implies intimacy and affection. Yet the Palestinian informant felt that these terms as often imply strife and tension between such individuals, since problems of distribution of property rights on the death of the spouses' father frequently arise" (1949, p. 251). The opinion of the Palestinian informant would, in the present writer's view, be especially applicable to *silfat* and their jealousies.

601 Of more significance than *silfat* and *'adil* is the term *pabr*. When the writer first encountered this term, the informants said that it meant only ego's (male or female) sister's husband or daughter's husband. Further investigation revealed that it refers to many other statuses, though very likely it is *most often* employed in these two senses. Ego can use the term in the following ways:

pabri, "my *pabr*"	sister's husband daughter's husband granddaughter's husband
pabrna, "our *pabr*"	husband of mentioned and persistent first cousin
pabrna (vocatively) *pabr al-'ayb* ("family *pabr*," referentially)	husband of any member of lineage, provided he is ego's age or younger and not himself a member of the lineage
pabrna (vocatively) *pabr al-dai'a* ("village *pabr*," referentially)	husband of any member of the village, provided he is ego's age or younger and assuming that he is an outsider

It is clear that the basic conception behind this term is the identification of any man who takes in marriage a member of ego's lineage, provided he is a con-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

temporary or younger. It is of particular importance, of course, if ego's lineage 601
mate who is so taken is a member of his or her immediate family. *Ṣubr* is used in exactly the same way by men and women. After a woman is married, she continues [593]
to use the term as she did before, but she also very often calls people *ṣubr* whom her husband calls *ṣubr*. This last point is another indication of the double family allegiance of a married woman.

Beyond this, we see that the use of the term is extended in two ways. First, it is extended to the male spouses of *all* first cousins. This is another indication of bilateral solidarity to the degree of first cousin but not beyond it, a striking phenomenon in a supposedly very strongly patrilineal system. Second, it is applied to [621
any outsider who takes a wife from among the villagers. This usage is, in the writer's opinion, of the utmost significance. It says, in effect, that an outsider who marries a village girl is an in-law to everyone in the village, or, to the whole village as a collectivity of individuals. Either way it is phrased, it implies that the village as a unit is conceived of, or at least symbolized, as a single kin group. Of course, from the point of view of genealogy alone, this extended use of *ṣubr* is a perfectly logical projection from minimal lineage, through maximal lineage, to encompass the entire Core Group, which, by reason of universal descent from one man is, actually, a single superlineage. As a matter of fact, ego does not call *ṣubr* the husbands of his *maximal* lineage mates. This is another indication of the present-day conceptual weakness of the maximal lineages, a matter which can be readily accounted for (see Chap. 9).

One set of data on kinship terminology remains to be discussed. These are the reciprocal uses of *baba* (cf. "daddy") and *maama* (cf. "mummy"). Within the immediate family, grown sons and daughters address their parents by these terms as well as the more formal *bayyi* and *ʾimmi*. In their turn, the parents reciprocate these terms in addressing their children, so that before one becomes accustomed to the practice, one is regularly startled to hear a mother address her son as *maama*. Reciprocation of the formal parental terms is much less common. Parents also use, of course, the formal terms for son and daughter in addressing their children. Davies, in fact, says that actually fathers do not address their daughters as *baba* at all (1949, p. 251), but this usage was heard in Munṣif. There is undoubtedly considerable individual variation in this practice. Davies says that there is a similar reciprocation of avuncular terms between aunts, uncles, and their nieces and nephews. The present writer has no evidence, one way or the other, of this usage in Munṣif. Davies does not mention, however, a practice which does occur in Munṣif, viz: the reciprocal use of *jiddi* and *sitti* (cf., in this context, "granddad" and "grandma") between grandparents and grandchildren. The terms *ḥafiid* (grandson) and *ḥafiidat* (granddaughter) are referential and are never used in direct address.

These familiar and familial usages are striking in that they seem to do violence to the facts of generation and sexual statuses. The phrase "seem to do violence" is

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

601 used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of avuncular, parental, and grandparental terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence [602] of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the situation which is handled by the logic is the intense unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view alone, "inconsistent," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the customary? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

[576] One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Munqif, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

512 The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Munqif this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Munqif, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, [512] is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The investigator volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives; matrilateral kin, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

512 615 At the present time, one's particular maximal lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's maximal lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Munqif. *Closest* degree of relationship is specified because many of

Middle East M1
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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possible relatives, except siblings, who can ordinarily be expected to be of similar age (see Barth, 1954, p. 167). The prohibition on the marriage of siblings is one of the few unequivocally universal traits in the behavior of human beings which have so far been identified, and the Arabs are no exception.

This marriage system is a reflection of one of the most fundamental concepts in Arab culture. If the Arab-in-the-street could fully verbalize this concept, he would say something like this: "The strongest tie which binds one person to another is the tie of blood, reckoned in the male line. The only people in this land world in whom I can put my full trust are my relatives. Therefore, the best people in the world are my relatives—my brother, my father, my father's brothers and their sons, and beyond them, everyone in my father's lineage. When one marries, one chooses the best person one can find, and the best person is to be found among one's kinsmen—the closer the better."

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A rigid functionalist might well reject this formulation, dismissing it as unverified sentimentality. He would say that lineage, and better still, extended family, endogamy exists because (a) it is a means of keeping property within the family (cf. Latron, 1936, p. 132), and (b) because it means that the bride price is materially reduced (cf. Daghestani, 1952, p. 22 and Barth, 1954, p. 168). These elements *are* associated with the system of marriage of close relatives, and they undoubtedly serve to reinforce the desirability of the system in the peoples' minds. But primary dependence upon hypothecated *causal* relationships of this sort can be a most misleading procedure. The fact is that the Arabs *are* sentimental, in both the literal and the common meanings of the word, about their kinsmen (cf. Tannous, 1942b, *in toto*). All the attitudes and emotions involved in this stem from the key conception of human relationships which has been noted above. This conception for the majority of Arabs probably exists largely at the implicit level, at least in its fully developed form.

Its power is no less among Christian Arabs than it is among Muslim Arabs. But the Christian Arabs have a special problem, a conflict between, on the one hand, their conception of the kinsman and his role in marriage and, on the other hand, the dictates of their religion. For strong sectarian sentiments, solidified here as everywhere else by meticulous adherence to clearly specified rules, are another behavioral cornerstone of Arab culture, equally important as kinship. In fact, so strong are both that one cannot be sacrificed for the other, even temporarily, without great discomfort, and certainly not in a continuous system like the marriage patterns of a community.

Obviously the conflict comes to a head in *Mungif* in the matter of the prohibition of marriage of all first cousins. The resolution of the conflict appears to be a sort of compromise which is revealed in the rather ambiguous general status of all first cousins as a group. In some respects they appear to be undifferentiated, which is a violation of strict patriliny. In other instances, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status.

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Middle East M1
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

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TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 330 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 337 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 339 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

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In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

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> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Mungif, are Muslim.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 338.)

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Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

McGulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

621 only one exception to this rule in al-Munsif. In this case, the son was
613 born while the family was living in Australia.
551 Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kin-
621 ship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another
601 who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah"—"father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

621 Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the
613 system of kinship terms which is used in al-Munsif. It can be said here only that these terms—which are verbal symbols of status and role—
601 encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and
602 social nearness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *sihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

621 The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary),
613 as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties—which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage—between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

621 The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in
594 large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Munsif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though